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The Public Looks at Crime and Corrections.

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Nearly 1,000 adults and 200 teenagers in a representative sample of 100 geographical locations were interviewed regarding: (1) general attitudes toward corrections, (2) feelings about contacts with convicted offenders on their return to the community, and (3) opinions about corrections as a career. Some findings were: (1) Whites and Negroes agreed that parental laxity is the single most important factor in the development of a criminal but Negroes felt that the cumulative impact of poverty, unemployment, and a bad environment is significantly more important, (2) Police received generally positive ratings, (3) There was an undercurrent of opinion that the police and courts have been overrestricted, (4) It was felt that rehabilitation was underemphasized, (5) Probation was not favored for most adult crimes, (6) Drug addiction and alcoholism were considered illnesses, (7) Willingness to offer job opportunities to released convicts was limited, (8) There was support for Halfway Houses, (9) Attitudes toward volunteer work were positive, and (10) Teenagers are not interested in corrections work because they feel positive results are unlikely. A summary of this report is available as VT 008 851. (JK)

THE PUBLIC LOOKS AT CRIME AND CORRECTIONS

JOINT COMMISSION ON CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER AND TRAINING

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The Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, incorporated in the District of Columbia, consists of nearly a hundred national, international, and regional organizations and public agencies which have joined together to attack one of the serious social problems of our day: How to secure enough trained men and women to bring about the rehabilitation of offenders through our correctional systems and thus prevent further delinquency and crime.

Recognizing the importance of this problem, the Congress in 1965 passed the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act, which authorizes the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration to make grants for a broad study of correctional manpower and training. The Joint Commission is funded under this Act and through grants from private foundations, organizations, and individuals.

Commission publications available:

Differences That Make the Difference, papers of a seminar on implications of cultural differences for corrections. August 1967, 64 pp. Second printing November 1967.

Targets for In-Service Training, papers of a seminar on in-service training. October 1967, 68 pp. Second printing November 1967.

Research in Correctional Rehabilitation, report of a seminar on research in correctional rehabilitation. December 1967, 70 pp. Second printing March 1968.

The Public Looks at Crime and Corrections, report of a public opinion survey. February 1968, 28 pp. Second printing March 1968.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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THE PUBLIC LOOKS AT CRIME AND CORRECTIONS

Report of a survey conducted by Louis Harris and Associates for the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training in November 1967

Joint Commission on Correctional
Manpower and Training
1522 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
February 1968

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PREFACE

Several bodies charged with investigating crime and corrections, such as the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice which reported in 1967 to President Johnson, have pointed out two important things. First, crime and recidivism cannot be cured by any correctional system so long as the roots of crime in slum living, poverty, and joblessness are allowed to persist. Second, the correctional system we have is grossly undermanned, and many of its personnel are not trained to rehabilitate offenders.

The Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training was set up to address the second of these problems. Its responsibility is to study in detail the extent and nature of the manpower shortage in corrections, to investigate the needs and resources for training correctional workers, and to get something done about meeting the needs it finds.

The Commission is well aware that the success of its mission—and the success of corrections—will depend upon public understanding and support. To develop such understanding and support, it believes, more must be known about how the public now feels about corrections. For this reason, the Commission asked Louis Harris and Associates to conduct a national survey of public opinion about corrections.

The survey, made in November 1967, examined three areas:

1. General attitudes of the public toward corrections and rehabilitation of the offender.

2. Feelings about contacts with convicted offenders on their return to the free community.

3. Opinions about corrections as a career.

The third factor has obvious relation to the problem of recruiting manpower for corrections, but it in turn depends heavily upon the first and second.

Louis Harris and Associates drew up a representative sample composed of 100 distinct geographic locations (city blocks or specified routes outside cities).* Nearly 1,000 adults 21 years of age or older and nearly 200 teenagers between the ages of 16 and 20 were interviewed. Since the teenagers were interviewed primarily to determine their interest in a career in corrections, where male employees greatly outnumber female employees, the sample for this group was constructed so as to include 142 boys and 56 girls.

The report of the survey, as prepared by Louis Harris and Associates, is presented here. Following a capsule presentation of major findings, three chapters show in detail what was learned in each of the areas under investigation. The final chapter, which was prepared by the Joint Commission staff, notes briefly the implications of the survey for the correctional field.

Many readers of this report, particularly those active in the field of corrections, will find some of the facts it presents disillusioning, even saddening. Men and women working in corrections were aware that the public is becoming less inclined toward the punitive and tends more and more to regard rehabilitation of the prisoner as the function of correctional institutions. Thus it comes as somewhat of a shock to learn that society as a whole is not tolerant of the presence of the returned offender. Corrections workers were of the opinion that they had made greater progress in establishing a favorable attitude on the part of the public.

It is evident from the report that citizens generally are agreed upon what we should be doing with the convicted offender. That is encouraging. However they do not seem to think we are doing a very good job at it. That is disturbing!

However, these and other facts brought out in the report are things we should know. If we are laboring under illusions, it is time we were nudged into awareness of reality. It is evident that we have our work cut out for us as far as making friends and interesting people is concerned.

There are, of course, bright spots in the picture. One of the most exciting of these lies in the attitude expressed by young people toward corrections as a career. Apparently they are not deterred by fear of possible danger or by the fact of low remuneration. They are, however, discouraged by the thought that chance of success would be small. Here are young men and women who are not concerned primarily with monetary returns; they want to be assured that there is a good chance of accomplishing something. They are idealists. Are not these the kind of people we are looking for? Let us devise ways and means of getting them.

Garrett Heyns, Executive Director
Joint Commission on Correctional
Manpower and Training

**The sample was selected on a multi-stage probability basis. Procedures are explained in the appendix of this report.*

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USING THE TABLES IN THIS REPORT

Unless otherwise indicated, tables are based on the total sample of adults interviewed. "Adult with teenager" means an adult interviewed in the same household as a teenager was interviewed. All other headings are self-explanatory. Breakdowns of the adult and teenage samples according to age, sex, and other characteristics are given in the appendix.

I. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS*

GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD CORRECTIONS

The public feels that our society has not been able to deal successfully with the problem of crime. There is a sense of disappointment in what has been accomplished through law enforcement, the courts, and corrections. In the development of a criminal, whites see parental laxness as far and away the major factor. Negroes agree that this single factor is first but feel that the cumulative impact of poverty, unemployment, and a bad environment is significantly more important.

Less than one in twenty (4 percent) of the adults believes the crime rate in his area is decreasing. Just under one half (46 percent) feels that it has been increasing.

There is little hope for the future unless some change occurs. Over six in ten feel that the system of law enforcement does not really discourage people from committing crimes, although the police at all levels - local, state, and federal - receive generally high rating. One half of the public feels that the courts have been too lenient in dealing with criminals, and an equal number believe that the prison system has done a poor job in helping to deal with the problem of crime.

Still it would be hasty to conclude that the public is in a vindictive frame of mind and takes a tough view of the system of criminal corrections. There is certainly an undercurrent that the police have been somewhat overrestricted in their ability to make arrests (whites believe this significantly more than Negroes) and that the courts could be somewhat more severe in their handling of criminals in terms of both conviction and sentencing. But corrections suffers from the reverse problem — less than half (48 percent) feel that the main emphasis today is on rehabilitation, but over seven in ten (72 percent) feel that this should be the primary emphasis.

This gap leads to a somewhat negative stereotype of the corrections system. When asked to describe prison life, 71 percent think first of living behind bars, one in five feels that someone "not really bad" is often turned into a "hardened criminal" by time in prison, one half of the public feel that "big time racketeers and people with connections" receive special treatment in prison, and less than half (47 percent) feel that prisons and the corrections system have been somewhat or very successful in rehabilitating criminals.

Community - based corrections are looked on with an air of distrust. While people are not willing to see the use of parole cut back, they are reluctant to see its use expanded. Only one in five feels that parole should be used more than it is now.

Related to this problem is the general feeling (expressed by two-to-one margins in some cases) that not enough help is given to people who get out of prison in getting psychological help, finding a place to live, keeping out of trouble, getting training for useful work, or getting decent jobs.

One must conclude from the above data that the public feels the corrections system is currently inadequate. At the same time, the public is not eager to help bring about change if it means more money would have to be spent.

In terms of priority of <u>increased</u> federal spending, funds for dealing with juvenile delinquency rank second behind aid to schools, while more money for correctional rehabilitation is sixth, following law enforcement, poverty programs, and defense.

When asked directly whether they felt more should be spent on prisons and rehabilitation programs, the public split down the middle — 43 percent in favor and 40 percent opposed (17 percent were not sure).

And when it gets down to the hard fact of <u>who</u> is going to pay for improved correctional rehabilitation programs, the public balks. By 59 percent to 33 percent (with 8 percent not sure) the public is not willing to see taxes raised to pay for better programs.

CONTACT WITH CONVICTED CRIMINALS

A cynic might be inclined to say that the problem with current rehabilitation efforts is that, at some point in the process, the convicted individual must re-enter society and his community. The survey showed that, in spite of the public's awareness of the re-entry problem, they are not likely to welcome the individual with open arms. There is a distinct undertow of hesitation and uneasiness in the anticipation of contacts with ex-criminals. Some of this uneasiness is probably inevitable, but it makes the goal of complete rehabilitation that much more difficult to reach.

The use of probation for most adult crimes finds little favor with the public. For a list of seven different crimes ranging from embezzling through murder, no more than one quarter of the adult population felt that probation was an appropriate sentence (26 percent for prostitution). Probation for crimes committed by juveniles, on the other hand, is a much more acceptable course to the public.

Drug addiction and alcoholism are overwhelmingly considered illnesses which should be treated in a hospital. Over eight out of ten respondents felt this way.

Sixty percent volunteered recognition that one of the most serious problems a released convict faces is getting a job. This problem was more clearly pointed up when people were asked, if they were employers, whether they would have any hesitation about hiring a

**Unless specifically indicated, all references in this report will be to the adult sample rather than the teenagers.*

specific criminal for a variety of jobs. As might be expected, the man who was convicted of a "white collar" crime was more acceptable than the "violent criminal." But in both cases the job opportunities were limited—janitor or production worker possibly, but clerk, salesman, or supervisor unlikely.

In terms of more personal contact, someone who has served time for a violent crime faces serious problems in being accepted in the community. Forty-four percent would feel uneasy working with such a person in a club situation, over one half would feel uneasy working for him (52 percent) or having him as a friend (57 percent), and fully three quarters (75 percent) would feel uneasy if this ex-criminal were a friend of their son. The teenagers interviewed felt essentially the same about this personal contact as the adults.

The seriousness of this problem is increased by the fact that the desire for the most severe penalties and the greatest degree of uneasiness about contact with ex-criminals are found among the lower-income and less-educated groups. Disproportionate numbers of criminal offenders come from these groups. Consequently, in the opinion of many correctional authorities, community-based corrections programs must be located more heavily in these areas than in others. That the barrier to acceptance is most solid in these segments of society makes the job of rehabilitation just that much more difficult.

Community resistance also emerged when people were asked about Halfway Houses, (described in the questionnaire as "places where ex-convicts — usually young people — would go after serving a prison term. They would work in the community but would have to sleep in the Halfway Houses where there would be counselors to supervise and help them with their problems"). There is strong support for Halfway Houses as an idea with 77 percent of the public feeling it is a good idea. When asked whether they would personally be in favor of a Halfway House being set up in their neighborhood, they dropped their support to 50 percent in favor, 35 percent opposed, and 15 percent not sure. On balance this is still favorable — but then, there is a certain difficulty in opposing a concept like the Halfway House even when the concept is to be set up in your own neighborhood. The release of more deeply felt attitudes was obtained when people were freed from the onus of answering for themselves and were asked how they felt most people in their neighborhood would feel about the setting up of a Halfway House. By a two-to-one margin it was felt that most people in the neighborhood would oppose the idea.

There is, however, one bright spot in the otherwise dark picture of public attitudes toward community-based corrections programs. This is in the area of volunteer work. While only 1 percent of the sample (both adult and teenagers) is currently doing volunteer work in crime prevention, law enforcement, or correctional rehabilitation, there was a feeling that volunteers have an important role to play. By 50 percent to 41 percent, adults felt that volunteers could help and that rehabilitation programs should not just be left to professional workers. Teenagers were even more in favor of volunteer participation (56 percent to 39 percent). When asked whether they personally would be willing to do volunteer work in six different areas from working with an auxiliary civilian police force to working with juvenile delinquents, at least 10 percent in each area said they would certainly be willing to serve if asked and an additional 20 percent said they would probably be willing to serve if asked.

While there is probably some inflation in this hypothetical participation, unquestionably a significant number of individuals could be induced to do volunteer work. These individuals could be particularly important in breaking down the resistance to community-based corrections programs.

CORRECTIONS AS A CAREER

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Crime Commission) found an immediate and urgent need to increase the number of workers in the correctional field. The results of this survey suggest that recruitment to fill these needs will be extremely difficult, particularly among young people.

Generally, there is a fairly high level of confidence in the abilities of law enforcement officials and corrections workers — in fact, higher than the level of confidence in businessmen and lawyers. Teenagers overall rate law enforcement and corrections lower than their elders. What is interesting is that education seems to work in different directions for the two groups. More education among adults leads to a higher level of confidence in law enforcement officials and corrections workers, while among the teenagers it leads to a lower level of confidence.

A word profile of correctional rehabilitation workers pictures them as "interested in helping their fellow man" and "dedicated." Negroes put the same items at the top of the list but with less frequency than the whites. Both adults and teenagers consider working with juvenile delinquents the most rewarding corrections career, followed by other social work in corrections. Prison guard and warden are considered the least rewarding jobs.

When adults were asked which of 11 areas they would recommend to a young person close to them as a possible career, correctional rehabilitation was tied for seventh (13 percent recommending it) behind law enforcement in sixth place (15 percent). For both correctional rehabilitation work and law enforcement, the less-educated recommend these areas more than the better-educated.

The main reasons volunteered by adults for not recommending corrections are that the pay is too low, that someone must be "a special type" to be interested in this area, and that other fields offer better opportunities. The first two of these reasons are offered significantly more by college-educated adults than by those with a high school education or less.

When teenagers were given a list of 13 different job areas they might be interested in and asked which they

had seriously considered, a career in correctional rehabilitation finished dead last, with only 1 percent indicating they had seriously considered it.

For teenagers the problem with corrections as a career is not low pay or the need to be a special type of person but rather, and much more importantly, the feeling that the job is unrewarding, that they would be working with difficult cases under difficult conditions, and that they would be unable to provide any real help. It is not that the younger generation lacks social consciousness and concern but that they also have a need, not unnaturally, for success. Thus it becomes difficult to choose as a career an area in which they feel success is so remote.

Recruiting, then, for corrections must partly be a question of resisting a self-fulfilling prophecy, for past failures help create manpower shortages and thus generate future failures. It is not enough to stress the idea of need and the opportunity for service. The potential of success in rehabilitation programs must be an important element in corrections recruiting.

II. GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD CORRECTIONS

Corrections is the last phase in a system which the public sees as having many faults. Let us begin by briefly examining public opinion about the earlier phases of the system of criminal justice.

CRIME RATES

First, the public is aroused about the incidence of crime. Almost nine in ten (89 percent) feel that the crime rate in their areas has been increasing or has remained the same in the last year.

1. Do you think the crime rate has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same in your area during the past year?

(Base: Total)

	TOTAL	EDUCATION			SIZE OF PLACE				RACE	
		8th Grade	High School	College	Metro-politan	Suburbs	Town	Rural	Negro	White
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Increasing	46	41	45	53	55	45	43	38	41	47
Decreasing	4	5	4	4	4	2	3	7	13	3
Same	43	46	44	37	35	45	47	47	39	43
Not sure	7	8	7	6	6	8	7	8	7	7

The feeling that the crime rate is increasing is strongest in metropolitan areas and among the college-educated. There is a slightly greater feeling among Negroes that the crime rate has declined somewhat in their area.

The reasons offered for feeling the crime rate is increasing are quite revealing.

2. Why do you think the crime rate has increased in your area?

(Base: Feel Crime Rate Increasing = 46%)

	Total* %
What I read and see on television	27
Unrest around country	22
Parents too lax	21
Foreign element moving in	8
Too many restrictions on police	6
Young people have no morals	6
Not enough police	5
Not enough recreation for young people	4
Courts too lenient	4
Unemployment	4
Too much leniency to rioters	4
Drugs, narcotics	3
For kicks	3
Lack of religion	3
Poverty	2
Other	6
Not sure	3

*Figures add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

First, there is no mention here of personal victimization. To the contrary, the number one reason cited was "what I read and see on television."

A 61-year-old laborer from Wrightsville, Pennsylvania said:

> "Just read your paper. Every night it's this shooting or that robbery. The papers are full of it. Murders and muggings in all the papers. Also, the crime rate has risen because of all the bad programs on TV. A child sees all this killing and soon grows up to think it's ok."

The majority of adult Americans feel that the seeds of criminal behavior take root in the home through parental laxness.

A doctor from Sonoma, California said:

> "I believe it's basically the parents' fault. They don't love and give their children any type of moral education. I believe the family should communicate and do things together."

The urban riots, a prominent manifestation of "unrest around the country," also have contributed to the perceived increase in crime.

OBSERVATIONS: The significance of these findings on the crime rate is not that they support the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports but that they point up the very high degree of public concern over the incidence of crime in our society and the prevailing mood that violence is breeding greater crime and violence.

Also noteworthy are striking differences in the causes cited by whites and Negroes, which to a large extent reflect differences in experience. Whites, who are more apt to live in comfortable social and economic circumstances, see criminality developing through tense home environments

and parental laxness and indifference. Negroes, so many more of whom are held down economically and socially, seem to recognize to a far greater degree than whites the responsibility that society must take for creating the conditions in which criminality can flourish. Negroes, with a greater incidence of broken homes, also fail to attribute as much cause for crime to parental laxness.

3. What are the main reasons why people become criminals?

	Total* %	Negro %	White %
Parents too lax	59	35	63
Environments are bad	16	19	16
Poverty	16	25	14
Unemployment	12	21	11
Lack of education	12	18	11
Young people have no morals	12	9	12
Alcohol	10	18	9
Drugs – narcotics	10	9	10
Broken homes	9	7	10
Not enough recreation for young	9	8	10
For kicks	9	13	8
People have too much, spoiled	7	4	8
Too many on welfare	7	13	6
Lack of religion	7	8	7
Courts too lenient – don't prevent crimes	5	1	5
Time of unrest	4	5	4
Kids see violence on TV	4	2	4
Mentally ill	3	1	3
Too many restrictions on police	3	–	3
Other	8	7	8
Not sure	3	5	3

*Figures add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

What almost amounts to a summation of the reasons why an individual turns to crime was given by a skilled worker in Johnson City, New York:

> "Environment has a lot to do with it. If you live on the wrong side of the tracks, no money, no food, sometimes you can be driven to crime. Psychological problems, mental disturbances contribute to the higher crime rate too. No home life, no spiritual life to speak of, no discipline in the home. They all help to make people turn to crime."

LAW ENFORCEMENT

A general feeling prevails that our system of law enforcement does not really discourage people from committing crimes. Over six in ten of the adults in the survey expressed this feeling, as compared with only one-quarter who felt the system does discourage crime.

Here, education is a key determinant — the more education one has, the more likely he is to feel that crime is not discouraged by law enforcement. A small proportion were of the opinion that law enforcement encourages crime; Negro responses of this type were greater than those of whites.

The main reasons cited for failure to discourage crime are that punishments are too lenient (19 percent), the observation that the crime rate is so high (17 percent), and the feeling that there are too many restrictions placed on law enforcement agencies (15 percent).

A retired salesman from Deland, Florida told us:

> "Laws are too loose. The officials don't stand behind the police. The police have no support and aren't allowed to do anything. Too much generosity is given out to riot starters."

Fifteen percent of the whites feel that law enforcement agencies are hampered by legal restrictions. Significantly, only 4 percent of the Negroes feel the same way.

While the system of law enforcement does not receive a favorable rating, law enforcement officials receive generally positive ratings for the job they are doing. As Table 5 shows, the total adult group rates state and federal authorities slightly higher than local authorities. Among teenagers the break is sharper. Respondents from rural areas, perhaps more independent and somewhat more conservative than those from non-rural areas, think less of the job done by the authorities at all levels. While a majority of Negroes give positive ratings to local, state, and federal law enforcement officials, it is only at the federal level that the rating is comparable to that given by whites.

Some of the reasons for these differences of opinion about law enforcement are seen in the next tables. While 84 percent of the whites feel that most arrests of people accused of committing a crime are fair, only 51 percent of the Negroes feel this way. While 71 percent of the whites feel that people waiting in jail to be tried are treated fairly, only 32 percent of the Negroes agree that this is true.

4. Does our system of law enforcement really discourage people from committing crimes?

(Base: Total)

	TOTAL %	EDUCATION			RACE	
		8th Grade %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %
Really discourages	26	34	23	25	32	25
Doesn't discourage	56	40	62	59	44	58
Encourages*	6	8	4	7	10	5
Not sure	12	18	11	9	14	12

*Statement volunteered.

5. How would you rate the job law enforcement officials are doing?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	REGION				SIZE OF PLACE				RACE		Total Teen-agers %
		East %	Midwest %	South %	West %	Metro-politan %	Suburbs %	Town %	Rural %	Negro %	White %	
LOCAL OFFICIALS												
Positive	68	68	70	65	69	69	71	69	62	57	70	58
Negative	32	32	30	35	31	31	29	31	38	43	30	42
(Not sure)	(6)	(6)	(4)	(6)	(7)	(5)	(4)	(7)	(7)	(16)	(5)	(3)
STATE OFFICIALS												
Positive	72	71	75	67	74	74	73	74	65	58	74	77
Negative	28	29	25	33	26	26	27	26	35	42	26	23
(Not sure)	(14)	(16)	(13)	(13)	(16)	(21)	(12)	(11)	(10)	(26)	(13)	(9)
FEDERAL OFFICIALS												
Positive	72	69	72	69	75	70	74	73	66	69	72	72
Negative	28	31	28	31	25	30	26	27	34	31	28	28
(Not sure)	(19)	(16)	(18)	(21)	(21)	(20)	(16)	(17)	(22)	(25)	(18)	(14)

6. Are most arrests fair or unfair?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	EDUCATION			REGION				RACE		Total Teen-agers %
		8th Grade %	High School %	College %	East %	Mid-west %	South %	West %	Negroes %	White %	
Fair	80	71	80	87	82	85	69	85	51	84	74
Unfair	11	16	11	6	8	7	19	10	33	8	18
Not sure	9	13	9	7	10	8	12	5	16	8	8

7. Are people waiting in jail to be tried treated fairly or not?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	RACE	
		Negro %	White %
Fairly	67	32	71
Unfairly	9	29	7
Not sure	24	39	22

THE COURTS

Over half of the adults (57 percent) feel someone waiting to be tried waits too long before coming to trial. Once brought to trial, criminals are dealt with too leniently by the courts, according to just under one half (49 percent) of the respondents.

OBSERVATION: The Negro - white split again deserves note. While equal numbers of both groups feel the courts have been fair, twice as many whites as Negroes feel the courts have been too lenient while twice as many Negroes as whites feel they have been too lenient in some cases while being too severe in others. Clearly Negroes are reacting to what some feel is a differential system of justice.

8. How have courts dealt with criminals?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	EDUCATION			REGION				RACE		Total Teenagers %
		8th Grade %	High School %	College %	East %	Mid-west %	South %	West %	Negro %	White %	
Too lenient	49	46	47	56	53	48	39	59	26	52	26
Too severe	1	1	1	1	2	*	1	1	6	*	3
Some too lenient, some too severe	15	15	16	11	14	18	14	12	26	13	17
Fair	29	30	30	28	25	28	37	26	28	30	49
Not sure	6	8	6	4	6	6	9	2	14	5	5

*Less than 1 percent.

Only 29 percent of the adults feel that the courts have been generally fair. This feeling is higher in the South than in any other region. Teenagers have a more favorable estimate of the courts with just under half feeling they are fair.

A 42-year-old Negro teacher from Baltimore put it this way:

"I believe that we have a dual justice system. If financially adequate then you can get off easy. If not you are one of the masses that feel the sting of justice."

9. What kind of a job has the prison system done in helping to deal with the problem of crime?
(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	EDUCATION			RACE		Total Teenagers %
		8th Grade %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %	
Positive	51	60	52	39	51	51	55
Negative	49	40	48	61	49	49	45
(Not sure)	(14)	(18)	(13)	(10)	(21)	(13)	(7)

CORRECTIONS

Half of the adults feel that the prison system is doing a good job in helping to deal with the problem of crime. The more education someone has, the less likely he is to give the prison system a positive rating.

Part of the problem is the gap that people feel exists between the actual emphasis of the prison systems and what they feel the emphasis should be. While only 48 percent feel prisons are currently most interested in rehabilitation, 72 percent feel this should be the main emphasis. While 37 percent feel the main emphasis is now on punishing the individual or protecting society, only 19 percent believe this should be the main emphasis.

Two particularly interesting patterns can be seen in the table below. While all groups feel rehabilitation should be the primary emphasis of prisons, those with the least amount of education feel the least strongly about this. Negroes are also less interested in rehabilitation than whites.

10. What do you think is the main emphasis in most prisons, and what should it be?
(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	EDUCATION			REGION				RACE		Adult with Teenagers %	Total Teenagers %
		8th Grade %	High School %	College %	East %	Mid-West %	South %	West %	Negro %	White %		
EMPHASIS NOW IS												
Punishing	13	17	12	14	15	10	18	10	27	12	16	17
Rehabilitation	48	39	51	47	45	53	43	50	31	49	53	57
Protecting society	24	27	22	26	26	23	21	29	27	24	18	21
Not sure	15	17	15	13	14	14	18	11	15	15	13	5
EMPHASIS SHOULD BE												
Punishing	7	16	5	4	9	4	10	5	17	6	3	7
Rehabilitation	72	57	77	76	69	74	70	75	59	74	84	83
Protecting society	12	15	10	11	13	10	11	13	9	12	5	6
Not sure	9	12	8	9	9	12	9	7	15	8	8	4

OBSERVATION: In the next chapter it will be seen that those with less education show greater interest in more severe punishments for different crimes and greater uneasiness about personal contact with criminals. The higher interest in punishment or protection of society compared with rehabilitation is another aspect of this same attitude.

There appear to be two possible reasons for these feelings. First, since the poor (and particularly the Negro poor) are most likely to be victims of crime, they may have greater feelings of hostility toward criminals and thus think in terms of punishment and revenge. Second, as to lower-class whites, other studies have shown that they have a more rigid family structure than middle-class whites, less permissiveness among family members, and consequently a greater acceptance of punishment as a legitimate means of dealing with those who disobey.

As to corrections' success in rehabilitating criminals (Table 11), the college-educated see the least success. Negroes feel less has been accomplished than whites do.

A 51-year-old Phoenix man who felt prisons have been only slightly successful told us:

> "We always read about them going back into prison for the same kind of a crime. Very few stay out of prison."

While over one-third of the adults were unable to state whether local, state, or federal prisons are most interested in trying to rehabilitate criminals, it is clear that few people feel there is much interest in rehabilitation at the local level. (Table 12.)

In the East (and the South to a lesser degree) and among Negroes, federal prisons are considered more likely to be interested in rehabilitation than state prisons. The reverse is felt to be true in the Midwest, the West, and among whites.

The feeling that prisons have been only partially successful was also expressed by the people when they were handed a list of words and phrases and asked to choose those that were most descriptive of prisons.

Over seven in ten feel "living behind bars" is most descriptive of prison life. "Getting rehabilitated" and "learning trades and skills," both positive items, are tied for second, with "small cells" next.

For the total group, the ratio of negative, punishment-oriented items to positive, rehabilitation-oriented items (found by adding the percentages for each item in the two groups) is 1.4 to 1.0 (160 percent to 114 percent). For Negroes, however, it is much higher than for whites: 2.4 to 1.0 (183 percent to 76 percent) for Negroes, as compared with 1.3 to 1.0 (155 percent to 119 percent) for whites.

11. How successful have prisons and other correctional systems been in rehabilitating criminals?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	EDUCATION			RACE		Total Teenagers %
		8th Grade %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %	
Very successful	5	9	4	2	6	5	7
Somewhat successful	49	45	54	41	38	50	53
Slightly successful	41	41	39	48	42	42	32
Not at all successful	5	5	3	9	14	3	8
Not sure	(13)	(24)	(10)	(9)	(22)	(11)	(8)

12. Which type of prison is most interested in rehabilitation?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	REGION				RACE	
		East %	Mid-west %	South %	West %	Negro %	White %
Federal	28	27	27	33	21	32	27
State	28	17	34	29	36	9	31
Local	8	7	7	8	10	6	8
Not sure	36	49	32	30	33	53	34

13. Which of these phrases best describe life in prison?*

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	EDUCATION			RACE		Total Teenagers %
		8th Grade %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %	
Living behind bars	71	65	71	76	68	71	61
Getting rehabilitated	33	30	35	31	15	35	39
Learning trades and skills	33	35	33	27	21	34	34
Small cells	27	25	27	27	31	26	24
Psychological counseling	18	7	21	23	8	20	32
Tough guards	14	19	14	7	19	13	16
Learning law to get out	14	14	16	9	18	13	22
Trustee system	13	11	12	18	13	14	10
Visits behind barriers	13	16	11	16	13	13	9
Chain gangs	10	11	10	8	14	9	11
Prison breaks	8	8	7	7	10	7	10
Pounding rocks	8	12	7	4	15	7	9
Alarm systems	5	3	6	6	4	5	5
Hunger strikes	4	3	5	4	9	4	3
Sympathetic workers	3	6	2	2	1	3	3
Not sure	4	8	3	4	8	4	2

*Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

OBSERVATION: Certainly Table 13 presents a somewhat stereotyped picture that does not conform completely to reality. But if the public image of corrections is to be improved, these are the stereotypes which must be confronted and eliminated. However, the figures do suggest a positive base of rehabilitation and learning skills to build on.

A more negative impression of prisons is also found in the response of one-half of the adults that "big-time racketeers and people with connections receive special treatment in prison." Fifty percent feel this is true, while 28 percent believe they are treated like every one else.

This negative attitude was again expressed when one in five (20 percent) felt that "time in prison will often turn someone who is not really bad into a hardened criminal." An additional 56 percent felt this "sometimes" happens, while only 18 percent felt this happens "hardly at all."

COMMUNITY-BASED CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS

Part of the problem faced by community-based correctional programs is seen in the view held by 56 percent of the respondents that it is almost impossible for the authorities to keep track of what someone is doing once he leaves prison. Thirty-six percent felt that it is possible for authorities to keep track.

While one-third (34 percent) of the sample were not sure whether the authorities or organized crime would be more successful in gaining influence over someone who was just released from prison, those who did express an opinion split down the middle.

14. Who is more likely to gain influence over someone released from prison?

(Base: Total)

		Authorities %	Organized Crime %	Not sure %
	Total Adults	50	50	(34)
EDUCATION	8th	60	40	(48)
	High School	54	46	(31)
	College	36	64	(27)
RACE	Negro	40	60	(46)
	White	51	49	(32)

There is little interest in an increased use of parole.

15. Should parole be used more or less?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	RACE	
		Negro %	White %
Used more	20	29	18
Used less	14	12	15
About right now	49	38	51
Not sure	17	21	16

People were then asked whether enough help is given in various areas to those who get out of prison. By about a two-to-one margin, they replied that not enough help is given. The sole exception was "getting training for useful work," where the margin was not so large. In almost every case Negroes more than whites believe not enough help is being given.

16. Is enough help given to ex-prisoners?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adult %	RACE	
		Negro %	White %
Getting psychological help			
Enough	21	16	21
Not enough	45	43	46
Not sure	34	41	33
Finding a place to live			
Enough	23	21	24
Not enough	41	54	39
Not sure	36	25	37
Keeping out of trouble			
Enough	24	17	25
Not enough	50	60	48
Not sure	26	23	27
Getting training for useful work			
Enough	33	17	35
Not enough	42	58	40
Not sure	25	25	25
Getting decent jobs			
Enough	23	9	25
Not enough	52	68	50
Not sure	25	23	25

OBSERVATION: It is clear that the public is dissatisfied. It believes not enough is being done in prisons or in the community to help rehabilitate criminals. New programs and more personnel are certainly needed. But what about the increased costs? Let us now turn to the question of financial support for corrections.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR CORRECTIONS

The way to the public's pocketbook for corrections is through support for juvenile delinquency prevention and rehabilitation programs. When given a list of 10 different areas of federal government spending and

asked in which one they would most like to see spending increased, juvenile delinquency was second behind aid to schools. More money for correctional rehabilitation programs finished a poor sixth. Law enforcement was third.

17. Where would you most like to see federal spending increased?

(Base: Total)

	1st %	1st +2nd +3rd %	1st +2nd +3rd Negro %	1st +2nd +3rd White %
Aid to schools	41	71	81	71
Juvenile delinquency	21	67	59	67
Law enforcement	13	49	32	52
Poverty program	11	36	62	31
Defense	5	17	19	17
Correctional rehabilitation	3	27	15	27
Highways	3	17	15	17
Aid to cities	1	13	18	12
Space	1	6	6	6
Foreign aid	–	1	2	1
Not sure	1	1	1	1

When first, second, and third choices are combined, correctional rehabilitation moves up to fifth place, ahead of increased defense spending.

Relative to whites, Negroes are more interested in increased aid to schools and poverty programs and less interested in increased juvenile delinquency, correctional rehabilitation, or law enforcement programs.

OBSERVATION: Aside from aid to schools and programs for juvenile delinquency, the total public seems more willing to attack the problem of crime through increased funds for the application of force than through increased funds for rooting out the social causes of crime through the poverty program or for attempting to rehabilitate criminals.

However, a slight plurality for increased funds for corrections was seen when people were asked directly whether more money should be spent to improve the prison system and rehabilitation programs. As Table 18 shows, there is somewhat more readiness to spend among the young, the higher-income group, and the better-educated, although the differences are not appreciable.

Pocketbook reluctance increased when people were asked if they would be willing to see taxes raised to improve correctional rehabilitation programs. The idea was rejected by almost two to one. (Table 19.)

Higher income and education lead to a greater willingness to see taxes raised, but still every group turns out a majority against the proposal.

18. Should more money be spent on prison systems and correctional rehabilitation programs?

(Base: Total)

		Spend More %	Not Necessary %	Not Sure %
	Total	43	40	17
AGE	21–34	46	36	18
	35–49	49	34	17
	50 plus	35	48	17
INCOME	Under $5,000	36	42	22
	$5,000–9,999	47	36	17
	$10,000 plus	46	45	9
EDUCATION	8th Grade	36	42	22
	High School	44	39	17
	College	46	41	13
REGION	East	42	41	17
	Midwest	43	39	18
	South	44	39	17
	West	40	45	15
RACE	Negro	44	31	25
	White	42	42	16

19. Would you be willing to see taxes raised to pay for correctional rehabilitation programs?

(Base: Total)

		Willing %	Not Willing %	Not Sure %
	Total	33	59	8
INCOME	Under $5,000	28	62	10
	$5,000–9,999	35	58	7
	$10,000 plus	36	58	6
EDUCATION	8th Grade	28	61	11
	High School	32	61	7
	College	42	51	7
REGION	East	30	63	7
	Midwest	36	56	8
	South	30	61	9
	West	40	53	7

GENERAL OBSERVATION: Increasing crime is a matter of great concern to the public. The public also feels that much of the system of criminal justice in the country is inadequate. This includes corrections. But at the same time the public's willingness to support programs to deal with these problems is somewhat narrow. Increased juvenile delinquency and law enforcement programs draw support, while increased poverty programs and correctional rehabilitation programs meet a mixed reception at best.

III. CONTACT WITH CRIMINALS

For correctional rehabilitation efforts to ultimately succeed, the individual must return to and be accepted by his community. In this survey attempts were made to measure the intensity of the re-entry problem through a number of different techniques:

1. Measuring the public attitude toward an individual based on the crime he has committed.
2. Measuring the public attitude toward an individual based on the type of contact with him.
3. Measuring the acceptability of a specific community-based corrections program — the Halfway House.
4. Determining the degree of public interest in crime prevention and correctional volunteer work.

ATTITUDES TOWARD VARIOUS CRIMES

First, the public was asked the best way of dealing with an adult convicted of a specific crime: probation, a short prison sentence with parole, or a long prison sentence.

20. What is the best way to deal with specified adult criminals?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	ADULT							Teen-Agers %
		SEX		EDUCATION			RACE		
		Men %	Women %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %	
25-year-old, burglary									
Probation	20	19	21	15	21	23	20	20	13
Short sentence with parole	57	55	60	48	59	63	41	60	72
Long sentence	15	17	13	27	13	8	32	13	13
Not sure	8	9	6	10	7	6	7	7	2
Man, armed robbery									
Probation	*	*	*	–	*	–	1	*	1
Short sentence with parole	11	11	12	8	12	14	5	12	11
Long sentence	86	86	85	88	86	82	89	85	86
Not sure	3	3	3	4	2	4	5	3	2
Prostitution									
Probation	26	33	20	17	27	32	26	26	20
Short sentence with parole	36	31	39	25	37	42	21	38	41
Long sentence	23	18	28	37	22	13	37	21	23
Not sure	15	18	13	21	14	13	16	15	16
Man, murder									
Probation	*	*	–	–	*	–	–	*	–
Short sentence with parole	2	3	1	2	1	3	6	1	3
Long sentence	90	87	93	86	93	90	81	92	93
Not sure	8	10	6	12	6	7	13	7	4
22-year-old man, looting during riot									
Probation	21	19	23	12	20	30	21	20	26
Short sentence with parole	46	45	47	40	48	49	36	48	59
Long sentence	28	31	25	40	28	17	36	27	12
Not sure	5	5	5	8	4	4	7	5	3
Accountant, embezzling									
Probation	7	8	6	2	8	7	5	7	8
Short sentence with parole	43	42	43	31	42	57	27	45	47
Long sentence	42	42	42	55	42	30	55	40	39
Not sure	8	8	9	12	8	6	13	8	6
Man, selling narcotic drugs to minors									
Probation	*	–	1	–	*	1	1	*	1
Short sentence with parole	4	6	3	4	4	6	6	4	5
Long sentence	94	92	94	93	94	93	88	94	92
Not sure	2	2	2	3	2	*	5	2	2

*Less than one percent.

There is a limited interest in the use of probation as a correctional technique, at least for the crimes named. Only in the case of prostitution (judged more harshly by women than men) did as much as 26 percent of the public feel probation should be used.

The breakdown by education shows an increasingly rigid attitude as the amount of education decreases. Those with less than high school education were the most willing to see someone sent to prison.

Teenagers exhibit the same pattern as adults. If anything, in fact, they are slightly more stern in wanting to see punishment dispensed.

OBSERVATION: In spite of the public's overwhelming belief that the correctional system's primary emphasis should be on rehabilitation, there appears to be a general feeling that the process (for adults) must begin with at least a short period of incarceration. How much this is due to the perceived inadequacies of present community-based programs and how much to a belief in the purifying qualities of punishment is impossible to say.

Juvenile delinquents are viewed by the public much less harshly than adult offenders. The cross-section was asked how juveniles who had committed specific crimes should be treated: with probation, a short term in reform school with parole, or a long time in reform school.

The same punishment pattern by education crops up in the treatment of juvenile delinquents as in the treatment of adult offenders but starting at a generally higher level of leniency. This is true among both adult and teenage respondents.

Negroes tend to be more severe than whites in the punishment they would give to the juvenile offenders.

OBSERVATION: The sharp difference between the treatment of an adult offender and a juvenile offender is seen in attitudes toward a 14-year-old looter in a riot compared with a 22-year-old looter. For the 14-year-old, 56 percent would put him on probation; for the 22-year-old, only 21 percent believe he should be put on probation.

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21. How should juveniles be dealt with for specified offenses?

(Base: Total)

	ADULTS							TEENAGERS		
	Total Adult	EDUCATION			RACE		Adult with Teenager	Total Teenager	EDUCATION OF HEAD	
		8th Grade or less	High School	College	Negro	White			High School and less	College
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
17-year-old stealing, first time, department store										
Probation	77	63	80	81	56	79	83	79	74	94
Short time in reform school	19	30	17	16	37	17	15	19	24	6
Long time in reform school	1	2	1	*	5	1	–	1	1	–
Not sure	3	5	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	–
15-year-old boy who mugged and robbed an old man										
Probation	13	12	13	15	12	13	8	8	6	13
Short time in reform school	56	46	59	57	40	58	71	56	58	51
Long time in reform school	26	35	24	22	43	24	18	32	32	34
Not sure	5	7	4	6	5	5	3	4	4	2
16-year-old stealing a car										
Probation	40	27	43	44	23	41	32	29	25	38
Short time in reform school	47	56	46	41	51	47	60	53	57	47
Long time in reform school	9	14	7	8	23	7	6	16	17	13
Not sure	4	3	4	7	3	5	2	2	1	2
14-year-old looting in an urban riot										
Probation	56	39	58	67	38	59	48	56	52	71
Short time in reform school	32	41	31	24	42	30	48	34	36	23
Long time in reform school	8	14	7	6	15	7	–	8	10	4
Not sure	4	6	4	3	5	4	4	2	2	2
16-year-old breaking school windows										
Probation	66	52	67	73	49	67	73	67	64	77
Short time in reform school	25	34	25	19	32	25	24	27	28	23
Long time in reform school	5	10	4	4	14	4	–	4	5	–
Not sure	4	4	4	4	5	4	3	2	3	–

*Less than one percent.

22. How should alcoholics and addicts be treated?

	Alcoholic arrested for loitering		Adult drug addict arrested for using drugs		Teenage drug addict arrested for using drugs	
	Adult %	Teenager %	Adult %	Teenager %	Adult %	Teenager %
Probation	6	12	2	2	3	5
Jail	7	14	10	11	5	12
Hospital	83	72	85	86	88	80
Not sure	4	2	3	1	4	3

ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG ADDICTION

Certain instances of antisocial behavior are recognized as illnesses, and there is overwhelming support for hospital treatment rather than a correctional solution.

While teenagers think slightly more in terms of corrections than adults, among both groups it is understood that the alcoholic or the drug addict properly belongs in the hospital.

THE RE-ENTRY PROBLEM

The public showed a clear awareness of ex-convicts' difficulties in returning to the community. We asked:

"Suppose someone close to you were just coming out of prison after serving a sentence for a serious crime. What do you think are the most serious problems he would face in readjusting to society?"

23. What problems do ex-convicts face in readjusting to society?
(Base: Total)

	Total* %
Finding employment	60
Being accepted and trusted in community	42
Finding new friends, meeting old friends	20
People would look down on him	12
Gaining self confidence	8
Family acceptance	8
Getting adjusted to freedom	8
Being accepted socially	6
Getting a place to live	6
Feeling ashamed and inferior	6
Having to prove himself worthy	4
Other	13
Not sure	4

*Adds to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Two items stand out most sharply: the difficulty in finding a job, and the problem of regaining the trust of the community.

As a 41-year-old housewife from the Bronx, New York told us:

"It depends on how people treat him in the outside world. Hard to get a job. People keep bringing up the past. All people who know him will always feel a little uneasy when he is around — afraid he might try the same thing again. His friends won't have much trust in him."

The critical importance of these areas emerged when people were asked how they would feel working on a job with someone who had been in prison and was on parole. Only one in ten indicated that he would feel uneasy whatever the person had done. But when specific crimes were mentioned, the number who said they would feel uneasy rose sharply. (Table 24.)

Someone who has committed a serious violent crime (in the survey "shooting someone in an armed robbery") will obviously cause a great deal of uneasiness. Next on the list was a crime with a somewhat unsavory quality — embezzling from a charity. Only shoplifting and income-tax evasion do not generate a sizable amount of uneasiness. For each of the other situations approximately one-third or more would feel uneasy.

The patterns by income, education, and race present some interesting contrasts. The lower-income group, the less-educated group, and Negroes in general all tend to feel a great deal more uneasy than the higher-income group, the better-educated group, and the whites in general.

OBSERVATION: Particularly in terms of education there is less distinction made based on the type of crime among the 8th-grade group compared with the college group. Looked at in another way, one could say that the college group feels relatively more comfortable with white-collar criminals than do those with less education.

The problem of finding a job is seen more clearly in Table 25. People were asked to imagine they were an employer and then whether they would have any hesitation in hiring, first "someone who had been in prison for shooting someone in an armed robbery," and second "someone who had been in prison for passing bad checks" for a variety of jobs ranging from janitor to supervisor. The question was deliberately loaded to make it as difficult as possible for people to express a reluctance to hire the person. This was done by asking him whether he would hesitate to hire the individual or whether he felt this person "had paid his debt to society and deserved to be hired like anyone else."

The individual who has served time for a crime of violence meets with difficulty in finding both blue-collar and white-collar jobs. The range is from over three in ten who would hesitate to hire him as a production

24. Would you feel uneasy working with a paroled convict?

(Base: Total)

Crime for which convicted	ADULTS								
	Total Adults %	INCOME			EDUCATION			RACE	
		$5,000 or under %	$5,000-$10,000 %	$10,000 plus %	8th Grade or less %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %
Shooting someone in an armed robbery									
More uneasy	74	78	72	71	77	73	73	85	72
Less uneasy	19	15	21	20	15	21	19	10	20
Not sure	7	7	7	9	8	6	8	5	8
Embezzling from a charity									
More uneasy	41	50	37	38	53	40	33	60	39
Less uneasy	52	42	57	55	38	54	60	30	54
Not sure	7	8	6	7	9	6	7	10	7
Stealing an auto									
More uneasy	29	41	25	22	42	26	23	51	26
Less uneasy	65	51	70	71	50	68	71	42	68
Not sure	6	8	5	7	8	6	6	7	6
Passing bad checks									
More uneasy	32	44	30	20	46	32	20	47	30
Less uneasy	62	49	65	74	44	63	75	44	64
Not sure	6	7	5	6	10	5	5	9	6
Shop lifting when 16									
More uneasy	16	24	15	9	27	16	6	37	13
Less uneasy	79	70	81	86	67	79	91	58	82
Not sure	5	6	4	5	6	5	3	5	5
Evading income taxes									
More uneasy	19	28	18	9	35	16	11	32	18
Less uneasy	75	65	76	85	55	78	86	60	76
Not sure	6	7	6	6	10	6	3	8	6

worker to over seven in ten who would hesitate to hire him as a clerk handling money.

The man who has served time for passing bad checks would have less trouble getting a job as a janitor or a production worker but would apparently meet with difficulty in obtaining either a white-collar or a supervisory position.

OBSERVATION: The number of people who would hesitate to hire an ex-convict even though he has "paid his debt to society" suggests both that the public has a long way to go before it can accept and really help the returning individual and that professional aid maybe necessary in finding a job for the individual and easing his readjustment to society.

In terms of personal contact with an ex-convict, the problem appears to be even more severe than in the work situation. People were asked whether or not they would feel uneasy if it turned out that someone they know in various situations had served time in prison for armed robbery. (Table 26.)

Only in the relatively innocuous situation of "working with someone in a club or civic organization" do less than half of the adults say they would feel uneasy. Personal friendship would make six in ten uneasy, and the idea that such a person might be their son's best friend makes three quarters of the adults uneasy.

Once again there is a greater tendency for Negroes than for whites and for the less well educated rather than the better educated to feel uneasy. Women feel slightly more uneasy across the board than men at the idea of contact in each of the different situations.

The same uneasiness was felt when adults were asked about a juvenile delinquent who had been in reform school for robbery and his possible contact with their son or daughter. The teenagers were asked the same question about someone they might know. (Table 27.)

Among the adults there is a fairly high level of uneasiness about each of the possible contacts, particularly when it is quite personal, as with friendship or serious dating. In each situation the teenagers are less uneasy about the contact than their elders.

OBSERVATION: The results on the hiring of ex-convicts and personal contact with them are not meant to imply

25. Would you hesitate to hire an ex-convict for these jobs?
(Base: Total)

POTENTIAL JOB	EX-CONVICT WHO	
	Shot someone in an armed robbery %	Passed bad checks %
Janitor		
Hesitate	43	22
Not hesitate	50	73
Not sure	7	5
Production worker		
Hesitate	35	21
Not hesitate	57	73
Not sure	8	6
Clerk handling money		
Hesitate	71	68
Not hesitate	22	25
Not sure	7	7
Salesman		
Hesitate	54	53
Not hesitate	36	39
Not sure	10	8
Supervisor		
Hesitate	63	54
Not hesitate	27	37
Not sure	10	9

that people believe that there is a criminal nature and that once a person is a criminal he will always be one. In fact, in direct questioning 86 percent said they felt someone convicted of passing bad checks could be rehabilitated, while 33 percent felt that a twice convicted armed robber could be rehabilitated. Some people, if they knew an ex-convict well or spent a great deal of time with him, might lose the feeling of uneasiness they had.

The results, however, do point to the initial barrier of mistrust that separates the ex-offender from society, a barrier which, without guidance and encouragement, he may never be able to pass and, in fact, he may decide is not worth passing.

THE HALFWAY HOUSE

One of the more promising techniques developed for easing the re-entry problem of convicted criminals is the "Halfway House." From these community-based institutions, the offender must deal with many of the problems he will ultimately have to face alone once he is fully released. They serve as an alternative to both the isolation of a correctional institution and the often inadequate guidance in probation and parole.

The concept of a Halfway House (see description in the Summary) was thought to be a good idea by almost eight in ten of both the adults and the teenagers. (Table 28.)

Support is clearly heavy for the idea. When asked whether they would personally like to see such an institution set up in their neighborhood, respondents showed less support, but 50 percent still said they would favor the idea. (Table 29.)

26. Would you feel uneasy over these personal contacts with an adult who had served time for armed robbery?
(Base: Total)

	Total Adult %	SEX		EDUCATION			RACE	
		Men %	Women %	8th Grade or less %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %
Someone you work with in a club or civic organization								
Uneasy	44	42	46	54	41	42	55	43
Not feel uneasy	49	53	45	38	52	52	34	50
Not sure	7	5	9	8	7	6	11	7
Your insurance agent								
Uneasy	60	58	62	69	57	57	80	57
Not feel uneasy	34	38	31	24	37	39	15	37
Not sure	6	4	7	7	6	4	5	6
Your employer								
Uneasy	52	51	55	57	52	49	69	50
Not feel uneasy	40	43	37	30	42	46	23	42
Not sure	8	6	8	13	6	5	8	8
Your son's best friend								
Uneasy	75	74	75	71	75	79	78	75
Not feel uneasy	19	20	18	19	20	17	15	19
Not sure	6	6	7	10	5	4	7	6
A new close personal friend								
Uneasy	57	54	59	58	58	52	74	54
Not feel uneasy	35	39	32	30	36	39	18	38
Not sure	8	7	9	12	6	9	8	8

27. Would you feel uneasy over these personal contacts with a juvenile delinquent who had spent time in a reform school for robbery?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	ADULTS							TEENAGERS		
		EDUCATION			SEX		Adults with Teen-agers %		Total Teen-agers %	SEX	
		8th Grade or less %	High School %	Col-lege %	Male %	Female %				Male %	Female %
A boy in your son's class in high school								A boy in your class in high school			
Uneasy	39	46	38	36	52	38	39	Uneasy	31	30	32
Not uneasy	55	44	56	61	36	56	55	Not uneasy	67	69	66
Not sure	6	10	6	3	12	6	6	Not sure	2	1	2
Someone your son knows in a social club								Someone you know in a social club			
Uneasy	44	50	43	41	57	42	48	Uneasy	28	27	32
Not uneasy	48	37	50	54	29	51	50	Not uneasy	69	69	68
Not sure	8	13	7	5	14	7	2	Not sure	3	4	—
A close personal friend of your child								A close personal friend of yours			
Uneasy	70	65	72	74	74	70	71	Uneasy	30	25	43
Not uneasy	23	24	23	21	16	24	27	Not uneasy	66	71	55
Not sure	7	11	5	5	10	6	2	Not sure	4	4	2
A boy seriously dating your teenage daughter								Someone you are seriously dating			
Uneasy	84	81	85	85	83	84	82	Uneasy	55	51	65
Not uneasy	10	9	10	11	11	10	10	Not uneasy	37	40	30
Not sure	6	10	5	4	6	6	8	Not sure	8	9	5

28. Is the Halfway House a good idea?

(Base: Total)

		Good Idea %
	Total	77
SEX	Men	73
	Women	81
	Under 35	83
AGE	35–49	79
	50 and over	71
	$5,000 and under	72
INCOME	$5,000–$9,999	78
	$10,000 plus	83
	8th grade or less	69
EDUCATION	High school	78
	College	82
	East	72
REGION	Midwest	80
	South	73
	West	84
	Metropolitan	77
SIZE OF PLACE	Suburban	81
	Town	79
	Rural	70
RACE	Negro	67
	White	78
	Adults with teenagers	76
	Teenagers	78

29. Would you personally favor a Halfway House in your neighborhood?

(Base: Total)

		Favor %	Not Good Idea %	Not Sure %
	Total	50	35	15
SEX	Men	50	37	13
	Women	51	33	16
	Under 35	58	30	12
AGE	35–49	51	35	14
	50 and over	42	40	18
	$5,000 and under	46	38	16
INCOME	$5,000–$9,999	51	34	15
	$10,000 plus	54	35	11
	8th grade or less	46	36	18
EDUCATION	High school	49	36	15
	College	57	33	10
	East	44	39	17
REGION	Midwest	54	32	14
	South	48	37	15
	West	55	32	13
	Metropolitan	48	41	11
SIZE OF PLACE	Suburban	56	29	15
	Town	53	35	12
	Rural	45	34	21
RACE	Negro	48	37	15
	White	50	35	15
	Adults with teenagers	40	40	20
	Teenagers	48	44	8

The younger and better-educated personally express the highest approval of a Halfway House in their neighborhood. Both the parents of teenagers and the teenagers themselves are less in favor of the idea than the total adult group.

Regionally, people in the South are least in favor of these institutions in their own neighborhood. Metropolitan areas and rural areas express lower support than do the suburbs and smaller towns.

But is 50 percent the true level of community support for a Halfway House? Unfortunately not. The idea has such a positive ring that it was only when people were asked how they felt others in their neighborhood would feel that the full measure of hostility to a Halfway House in their own community surfaced.

30. How would most people in your neighborhood feel about a Halfway House in the area?

(Base: Total)

		Most Opposed %	Most In Favor %	Most Not Care Either Way %	Not Sure %
	Total	58	22	10	10
SEX	Men	58	21	11	10
	Women	58	23	10	9
AGE	Under 35	57	23	12	8
	35–49	61	22	9	8
	50 and over	57	21	10	12
INCOME	$5,000 and under	52	25	11	12
	$5,000–$ 9,999	61	20	11	8
	$10,000 plus	62	22	9	7
EDUCATION	8th grade or less	48	21	14	17
	High School	60	22	9	9
	College	62	23	11	4
REGION	East	64	18	8	10
	Midwest	55	23	13	9
	South	50	27	10	13
	West	62	20	11	7
SIZE OF PLACE	Metropolitan	64	21	9	6
	Suburban	57	25	12	6
	Town	60	21	8	11
	Rural	51	21	12	16
RACE	Negro	48	21	17	14
	White	59	22	10	9
	Adults with teenagers	58	21	11	10
	Teenagers	65	19	10	6

Support for a Halfway House falls away. By better than two to one, people feel most of the neighborhood would be against it. Education now cuts the other way: the more education, the more opposition. No more than 27 percent of any group feels that most people in the community would support the idea.

Next, people were asked why they believed the community would favor or oppose a Halfway House.

31. Why would most people oppose or favor a Halfway House in their neighborhood?

(Base: Total)

	Total* %
OPPOSE	
Don't want criminals in neighborhood--cause trouble	17
People have old-fashioned ideas about these things	14
Bad influence in neighborhood particularly on the youth	11
People would be afraid	8
This is the wrong area for it	8
Against the idea of Halfway House, they are unnecessary	3
FAVOR	
People here want to help others	7
People willing to give others a chance	2
Help them adjust to community living	2
WOULDN'T CARE	
As long as people don't get involved, they wouldn't care	7
They paid their debt	3
As long as they mind their own business	1
NOT SURE	16

*Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

People are leery of taking the risk of having criminals in their neighborhoods. They are afraid of trouble the criminals might cause and of the bad influence that might result, particularly on the young. People also admit to being simply old-fashioned about such a dramatic proposal.

A New Jersey mother summed up the neighborhood fears:

> "All people don't think alike and they might not like the idea. Maybe they wouldn't want their children exposed to such. The kids would come in contact with these people and might become very close and this would worry the parents. The people wouldn't want to associate with criminals."

A 33-year-old Baltimore man was even more blunt: "We don't need ex-cons here."

OBSERVATION: The purpose of setting up a Halfway House in a community is to permit the community to exert an influence on the inmates and thus help in the rehabilitation effort. However, the community tends to think mainly in terms of its own safety and of the possible influence of the Halfway House on themselves and their children.

The future success of this innovative program will largely depend upon the ability of the authorities to convince a community of its own resources and responsibilities as well as the impact it could have on rehabilitation. Highly personal anxieties will have to be stilled. The survey results suggest that this will be a difficult task.

VOLUNTEER WORK

With a high degree of uneasiness over possible personal contact with ex-convicts and a reluctance to see community-based institutions set up in the neighborhood, possibly one of the most fruitful ways of involving the public in correctional rehabilitation is through volunteer work in various crime prevention and correction programs.

While currently only 1 percent indicated they were doing any volunteer work in this area, 50 percent said they felt volunteers can help in the rehabilitation of criminals and that this area should not be left only to the professionals.

The belief that volunteers can help is stronger among those under 35 and among teenagers. Those over 50 have the least faith in the use of volunteers.

When asked whether or not they would personally be willing to do volunteer work in a number of different areas if asked, at least one-third indicated in each area they would certainly or probably be willing.

In each area, more Negroes than whites and more college-educated respondents than those with less education said they would certainly be willing to volunteer. Teenagers appear as willing as the adults to do volunteer work.

32. Can volunteers help in correctional rehabilitation?

(Base: Total)

		Volunteer Help %	Left to Professionals %	Not Sure %
	Total	50	41	9
AGE	Under 35	61	32	7
	35-49	49	44	7
	50 and over	45	43	12
EDUCATION	8th Grade or Less	45	42	13
	High School	51	41	8
	College	56	37	7
REGION	East	48	44	8
	Midwest	54	37	9
	South	46	42	12
	West	57	39	4
RACE	Negro	49	37	14
	White	51	41	8
	Teenagers	56	39	5

OBSERVATION: Discounting the "probably volunteer" group as being unlikely to actually participate, we are still left with over one in ten in each area indicating he would be willing to do volunteer work. The key phrase in the question was probably "if asked," for it is highly improbable that these individuals would come forward by themselves.

But a concentrated campaign calling for volunteers could elicit a strong response. The use of these volunteers could go a long way toward eliminating the community uneasiness expressed in this study and ease the re-entry into the community of the individual who "has paid his debt to society."

33. Would you be willing to do volunteer work?

(Base: Total)

	ADULTS						TEENAGERS		
	Total %	8th Grade or Less %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %	Total %	Male %	Female %
Auxiliary civilian police force									
Certainly	11	7	12	14	15	11	15	15	14
Probably	24	16	28	23	16	25	33	38	20
With juvenile delinquents									
Certainly	17	13	18	20	26	16	19	16	25
Probably	31	21	34	37	28	32	33	34	30
Minority group young people									
Certainly	14	15	12	19	32	12	22	18	13
Probably	29	15	32	35	23	29	31	31	30
Citizens committee against organized crime									
Certainly	14	12	14	17	18	14	15	16	13
Probably	26	17	29	30	23	26	30	33	23
With a parole board									
Certainly	12	10	11	17	15	12	12	10	16
Probably	20	9	24	24	14	21	33	36	27
Job placement agency for ex-prisoners									
Certainly	13	8	13	15	17	12	12	10	16
Probably	23	11	26	26	20	23	32	35	23

IV. CORRECTIONS AS A CAREER

The corrections profession is currently suffering from a severe manpower shortage. In some phases of this work, it is estimated that the number of personnel should be doubled and even tripled.

In this survey the degree of interest in corrections as a career was probed in depth. Adults were asked possible career areas they would recommend to a young person close to them, and the teenagers were asked about career areas they themselves had considered.

LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE

First, however, respondents were asked to indicate the level of their confidence in various occupations, including correctional rehabilitation.

Among adults, both correctional rehabilitation workers and law enforcement officials fall midway between the high ratings given to the clergy and doctors and the relatively low rating given to businessmen and lawyers. (Unfamiliarity with the field led to a high "not sure" - 16 percent - for the correctional rehabilitation group.)

Teenagers present a somewhat different pattern. Their confidence in businessmen is less (although it is low for adults too); their confidence in lawyers is higher. Both law enforcement officials and correctional rehabilitation workers receive lower ratings than among the adults.

34. How much confidence do you have in these occupations?

(Base: Total)

	ADULT						TEENAGER				
	Lot %	Some %	Little %	Hardly any %	(Not sure) %		Lot %	Some %	Little %	Hardly any %	(Not sure) %
CONFIDENCE IN:						CONFIDENCE IN:					
Clergy	77	19	2	2	(4)	Doctors	79	15	5	1	(–)
Doctors	74	22	3	1	(3)	Clergy	76	19	3	2	(1)
Scientists	67	26	5	2	(15)	Scientists	64	23	9	4	(3)
Teachers in grade or high school	62	33	4	1	(5)	Lawyers	58	34	6	2	(2)
College teachers	57	36	5	2	(10)	College teachers	57	33	8	2	(4)
Correctional rehabilitation workers	57	37	5	1	(16)	Teachers in grade or high school	55	36	6	3	(1)
Law enforcement officials	55	36	7	2	(5)	Psychiatrists	51	33	12	4	(7)
Social workers	54	36	7	3	(9)	Law enforcement officials	47	38	8	7	(–)
Psychiatrists	50	36	9	5	(16)	Correctional rehabilitation workers	46	42	8	4	(3)
Businessmen	43	44	10	3	(5)	Social workers	46	45	7	2	(3)
Lawyers	42	43	10	5	(8)	Businessmen	34	50	12	4	(2)

OBSERVATION: It should be noted at this point that the relatively low level of teenagers' confidence in correctional workers does not reflect an assessment of the dedication and involvement of these workers but rather the lack of success they have seen in correctional efforts. This will be examined in more detail later in this section.

Education and race make a sharp difference in attitudes toward law enforcement officials and corrections personnel, as shown in the breakdown of favorable answers to Question 34.

Education cuts in different directions for the two groups. For the adults, the more education, the more confidence; for the teenagers, just the reverse is true.

The confidence split between adult Negroes and whites, particularly in their attitudes toward law enforcement officials, is quite dramatic. While six in ten whites have a lot of confidence in law enforcement officials, only one in three Negroes expresses this attitude.

We next asked about the level of confidence in people involved in specific areas of law enforcement, administration of justice, and corrections.

	ADULT						TEENAGER			
	Total %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %	Negro %	White %	Total %	In High School %	In College %	Not in School %
LOT OF CONFIDENCE IN:										
Law enforcement official	55	50	55	63	33	58	47	56	33	48
Correctional rehabilitation worker	57	51	59	59	47	58	46	47	33	47

35. How much confidence do you have in people involved in courts, police, and corrections?

(Base: Total)

	ADULTS						TEENAGERS				
	Lot %	Some %	Little %	Hardly any %	(Not sure) %		Lot %	Some %	Little %	Hardly any %	(Not sure) %
CONFIDENCE IN:						CONFIDENCE IN:					
Criminologists	59	34	5	2	(24)	Judges	64	27	7	2	(2)
Policemen	56	36	5	3	(4)	Criminologists	59	33	6	2	(13)
Detectives	55	38	6	1	(12)	Detectives	54	36	7	3	(6)
Juvenile delinquency workers	55	39	4	2	(13)	Psychiatrists working with criminals	53	34	9	4	(8)
Psychiatrists working with criminals	55	36	5	4	(16)	Social workers working with criminals	51	37	10	2	(7)
Social workers working with criminals	55	36	6	3	(13)	District attorneys	50	39	8	3	(8)
Parole officers	53	39	5	3	(12)	Juvenile delinquency workers	49	40	8	3	(5)
Judges	51	39	7	3	(6)	Probation officers	49	41	8	2	(10)
Probation officers	51	40	6	3	(14)	Parole officers	47	38	12	3	(9)
District attorneys	49	44	5	2	(10)	Policemen	45	42	8	5	(2)
Prison wardens	48	40	7	5	(18)	Prison wardens	44	38	15	3	(14)
Prison guards	36	44	11	9	(19)	Prison guards	29	39	21	11	(11)

For most of the specific jobs, among the adults there is a large "not sure." But among those who did express an opinion, there is little variation in the level of confidence. Around 50 percent said they had a lot of confidence. Prison guards receive the lowest rating, while criminologists receive the highest.

In the jobs related to corrections the teenagers express lower confidence than adults. Table 36 illustrates, for the teenagers, the influence of education on the level of confidence.

Except for criminologists, the college group of teenagers has less confidence in each area than the high school group. For each of the corrections-oriented jobs, less than half of the college teenagers say they have a "lot of confidence."

36. How much confidence do you place in people involved in police, courts, and corrections?

(Base: Teenagers)

	TEENAGERS			
	Teenager Total %	STATUS		
		In High School %	In College %	Not In School %
LOT OF CONFIDENCE IN:				
Judges	64	71	54	51
Criminologists	59	58	65	53
Detectives	54	60	30	49
Psychiatrists working with criminals	53	58	42	51
Social workers working with criminals	51	52	46	52
District attorneys	50	56	44	43
Juvenile delinquency workers	49	49	39	52
Probation officers	49	52	30	49
Parole officers	47	50	37	46
Policemen	45	49	33	42
Prison wardens	44	41	37	49
Prison guards	29	34	13	30

PROFILE OF THE CORRECTIONAL WORKER

While the confidence level is not particularly high for correctional rehabilitation work as an occupation, the profile for this group (drawn from a list of descriptive words and phrases) is very favorable.

37. Which of these descriptions fit correctional workers?*

(Base: Total)

	ADULTS			TEENAGERS
	Total Adults %	Negro %	White %	%
Interested in helping fellow man	66	52	69	67
Dedicated	58	36	61	59
Intelligent	45	41	46	48
Hard working	36	33	37	36
Kind	36	26	37	45
Courageous	16	24	15	13
Creative	12	13	12	17
Do-gooder	12	22	10	12
Hard boiled	5	4	6	5
Conservative	5	5	5	4
Incompetent	1	1	1	–
Cynical	1	1	2	2
Not too bright	1	–	1	3
Violent	1	2	1	1
Lazy	1	–	1	2
Corrupt	1	2	–	–
Sadistic	–	–	–	–
Not sure	6	14	5	3

*Note: Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Interested in helping his fellow man", "dedicated", "intelligent", "hardworking" and "kind", the correctional worker has a positive image with the public. Both adults and teenagers have the same high regard for the individuals in this field, although Negroes express this high praise with somewhat less frequency than the whites.

OBSERVATION: The apparent discrepancy between the very favorable profile and the less favorable level of confidence is, to a large extent, a measure of the public's feeling that there is a gap between the importance and the potential of the corrections field and the success it has achieved.

MOST REWARDING CORRECTIONAL JOBS

When we asked both the adults and the teenagers which jobs within the correctional field they felt would be most rewarding, "working with juvenile delinquents" emerged with a clear lead, particularly among young adults and college-educated adults. No other job won the support of more than one in five adults.

38. What are the most rewarding jobs in the correctional field?*

(Base: Total)

	ADULTS								TEENAGERS		
	Total Adults	AGE			EDUCATION			Adults with Teenagers	Total Teenagers	Male	Female
		Under 35	35–49	50 and over	8th Grade or Less	High School	College				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Juvenile delinquency worker	52	56	53	47	44	55	53	53	47	43	59
Social worker	21	21	20	23	22	22	19	18	29	21	48
Chaplain	19	16	17	25	29	19	11	19	17	18	14
Vocational counselor	18	15	19	19	19	16	22	24	16	17	14
Teacher	17	17	15	18	21	14	20	11	17	18	14
Criminal psychiatrist	12	10	13	14	11	11	15	11	16	15	16
Parole officer	9	7	9	10	11	10	3	8	14	15	11
Probation officer	7	7	7	8	6	8	6	8	11	13	5
Warden	3	3	3	4	5	3	3	3	6	7	2
Prison guard	1	1	–	3	1	1	–	–	3	4	2

*Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Social work in the field of correctional rehabilitation was selected as most rewarding by 29 percent of the teenagers (48 percent of the female teenagers) compared with 21 percent of the adults. Prison guard and warden are considered the least rewarding jobs in the correctional field.

CAREER CHOICES

The adults were asked which of 12 possible career choices they would recommend to a young person close to them who was seeking advice.

39. What career would you recommend to a young person?*

	ADULTS								
	Total Adults	SEX		EDUCATION			RACE		Adult with Teenager
		Men	Women	8th Grade or Less	High School	College	Negro	White	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Medicine	37	36	38	30	40	37	33	37	39
Business	28	34	23	32	28	26	23	29	31
Teaching	27	23	31	30	26	26	33	26	31
Law	22	24	20	23	22	22	26	21	16
Science	16	20	13	8	15	26	10	17	19
Law enforcement	15	14	15	22	14	11	24	13	16
Social work	13	8	18	15	14	11	27	11	16
Correctional rehabilitation	13	11	14	18	11	11	21	11	15
Military	13	15	10	14	12	12	24	11	8
Clergy	12	10	13	14	11	12	23	10	15
Psychiatry or psychology	7	7	7	5	7	9	13	6	8
Not sure	10	10	10	8	9	15	5	10	–

*Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Medicine and business lead the list of recommended careers for young people, particularly among the men. Law enforcement finishes sixth and correctional rehabilitation ties for seventh. Correctional rehabilitation work as a possible career was more popular with women, with the less-educated, and with Negroes. Law enforcement and social work followed the same pattern.

When we asked the teenagers how much consideration they had given to each of 13 different areas as something they might want to do, a career in correctional rehabilitation was last on the list. Only 1 percent had given it serious consideration. (Table 40.)

Business and going to graduate school have been seriously considered by three in ten of the teenagers. A career in science and teaching in grade or high school have been seriously considered by one in five. Essentially the same order holds when those who gave "some" consideration to the field are added to those who gave it "serious" consideration. (Table 41.)

Some of the reasons for the relatively low attraction of correctional work to adults and teenagers alike are seen in Table 42. Adults who would not recommend correctional rehabilitation work and the teenagers who had not seriously considered it were asked their reasons.

The first thing that stands out in the table is the large number of individuals, particularly among adults, who don't know why they have not recommended or seriously considered correctional work. Clearly, for many people, this field is one they have never thought about in career terms. Among the adults, this is both confirmed and explained by the feeling that this field is for "older people" and that someone "has to be a special type" to be interested in it. "Very few are qualified for that sort of work," a Colorado housewife told our interviewer. Low pay is an important deterrent for the adults but is hardly mentioned by the teenagers.

40. What careers have you seriously considered?* (Base: Total Teenagers)

	Total	SEX		RESPONDENT STATUS			HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD		AGE	
		Make	Female	In High School	In College	Not In School	High School or Less	College	Under 18	18–20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO:										
Business	30	29	34	29	29	30	29	34	30	30
Graduate school	30	33	23	32	50	17	26	40	33	27
Science	21	23	16	23	32	8	17	30	21	20
Teaching in grade or high school	20	18	27	23	25	11	17	32	23	16
Military career	14	18	4	16	4	17	15	13	14	14
Peace Corps	11	9	14	10	11	13	10	13	11	10
Medicine	8	9	4	8	11	6	8	9	6	9
University teaching	8	9	5	7	21	4	6	11	4	13
Police work	7	8	2	4	4	11	8	–	5	8
Social work	7	3	18	7	7	8	6	11	5	9
Law	5	6	2	6	–	6	3	9	4	7
VISTA	4	1	9	4	4	2	3	6	4	2
Correctional rehabilitation	1	1	2	1	–	2	1	–	–	2

*Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

41. What careers have you considered seriously or somewhat? (Base: Total Teenagers)

	Teenagers
	%
"SERIOUS" PLUS "SOME" CONSIDERATION TO:	
Working in business	68
Going to graduate school	59
Teaching in grade or high school	43
A military career	42
A career in science	38
Joining the Peace Corps	35
A career in social work	30
Becoming a law enforcement official (police work)	26
Becoming a doctor	25
Teaching in a university	23
Becoming a lawyer	22
Joining VISTA	20
Correctional rehabilitation	15

OBSERVATION: Success in recruiting correctional manpower must be largely dependent on an awareness of opportunities in the field. Currently, this awareness appears quite limited and even somewhat distorted. A greater effort must be made to bring correctional work into the public consciousness and correct the public's ideas about the "types" who go into this field.

Emerging for teenagers as far and away the most important deterrent to a career in corrections is their feeling that "other fields offer more opportunities for success." It is also an important reason why adults would not recommend this field.

The significance of this deterrent was made vividly clear when we asked our respondents what they felt would be the rewards and advantages of a career in the correctional rehabilitation field and what they felt would be the disadvantages. (Table 43.)

42. Why not a career in corrections?*

(Base: Adult not recommend = 87% – Teenager not seriously consider = 99%)

	ADULTS							TEENAGERS		
		SEX		EDUCATION						
	Total	Men	Women	8th Grade or Less	High School	College	Adults with Teenagers	Total	Male	Female
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Low pay	15	21	9	6	16	23	12	4	4	6
Have to be special type	15	13	17	8	16	22	10	1	2	–
Other fields offer more opportunities for success	13	14	11	11	13	11	7	61	60	63
Is for older people	9	10	9	12	10	5	10	3	4	2
Too many disappointments	6	7	5	6	4	10	7	2	2	2
No respect—thankless job	6	7	4	2	5	10	12	1	1	–
Too dangerous	5	5	4	8	4	4	2	4	2	8
Don't want to work with criminals	3	3	3	1	4	3	5	7	7	8
No future in it	3	3	2	2	2	4	2	1	–	2
Hard work	2	2	2	1	3	2	–	–	–	–
Not sure	38	32	44	52	38	23	43	24	24	25

*Note: Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

43. What are the advantages and disadvantages of a career in correctional rehabilitation?*

(Base: Total)

	Adult Total %	Teenager Total %
ADVANTAGES		
Pride in giving people a new start	55	52
Helping your fellow man	25	26
Helping create a better society	3	6
Other positive	5	10
DISADVANTAGES		
Helpless cases–working with people you can't help	35	50
Low pay	20	11
Hard work—long hours	13	12
Too many disappointments—loss of self-confidence	9	4
Few rewards—always criticized	9	7
Would be dangerous	9	11
Other negative	3	6
NOT SURE	13	10

*Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Both adults and teenagers feel in equal measure that the main reward of a career in corrections would be the sense of pride in helping to give people a new start. The most significant disadvantage is the expectation of failure, the expectation that they would not really be able to lead the individual to a successful readjustment to society. Over and over such disadvantages were repeated:

"You would feel bad if they didn't turn out good." — 16-year-old high school junior

"It would wear on your nerves trying to help and not succeeding." — 20-year-old girl from La Crosse, Wisconsin

"You might get discouraged if some of your cases were beyond your help." — 19-year-old from Mayfield Heights, Ohio

"The bitter disappointment of trying to help someone — and then failing completely." — 66-year-old apartment-house manager from San Francisco.

Such attitudes were directly expressed by 50 percent of the teenagers. If the additional reasons of "too many disappointments - loss of self-confidence" and "few rewards - always criticized" are included, over 60 percent of teenagers and 50 percent of adults are concerned about this expected failure and its personal consequences.

OBSERVATION: Lack of correctional personnel is an important factor in many instances of abortive rehabilitation efforts. Yet lack of success in rehabilitation efforts is an important factor in discouraging others from entering the correctional field. To recruit effectively, to attract highly qualified people in a society as success-oriented as ours, it is not enough simply to offer security and adequate pay. (Indeed the teenagers are relatively unconcerned about "low pay".) What must be offered is the possibility of success and the self-fulfillment that accompanies success. Success in the correctional field means successful rehabilitation. As long as the achievement of this goal is doubted by the public, recruitment will be difficult.

V. IMPLICATIONS OF THE SURVEY FOR CORRECTIONS*

It is clear from this survey that the American public does not know as much about corrections as it should. Public attitudes toward corrections are being formed within a factual vacuum. Many correctional administrators have not taken responsibility for informing the public. In contrast, other public services, such as law enforcement, education, and health, have acknowledged their responsibility for reshaping public attitudes when these were viewed as detrimental to the goals of their programs.

Despite the meagerness of its knowledge about what corrections is and does, the public has some firm convictions about what ought to be the case. The survey revealed the public feeling that corrections should lay more emphasis on rehabilitating the offender than on punishing him. Much greater concern was voiced for the young offender than for the adult. The public would rather see increased federal spending for juvenile delinquency programs than for any other field except education. It realizes that the man or woman released from an institution or from probation supervision faces great difficulties in readjusting to life in the free community. It views alcoholism and narcotics addiction as medical rather than crime problems. It has more confidence in the correctional worker than in the correctional system. Many citizens would be willing to do volunteer work in helping offenders to become useful members of society.

Despite all these attitudes, which are in line with modern correctional thinking, the public shows relatively little confidence in the most conspicious development in corrections today — the trend toward handling the majority of offenders in the community through such programs as probation, parole, and halfway houses. There appears to be widespread uneasiness at personal contact with those who have run afoul of the law. Both the adults and the teenagers interviewed rejected corrections as a career field.

A PUBLIC EDUCATION PROBLEM

The findings of this survey point unmistakably to the failure of corrections as a public service field to acquaint the public with its goals, its problems, its successes, almost its very existence. Correctional administrators of the future should be trained in the art and science of communications as it relates to influence processes which can create a more favorable public attitude toward corrections and its objectives. The problem is how to give the public an accurate picture of the field of correctional work in all its complexity and range of opportunities. The education and training programs of the future should emphasize the responsibility of correctional leaders to correct public views where these are essentially in conflict with reality and to foster the creation of favorable attitudes to replace hostile or neutral ones.

This survey should provide an excellent source of discussion material for the ongoing training and development of the correctional leadership. In fact, further surveys should be encouraged, so that the correctional field can trace its image and impact upon the public as well as its position in relation to other social institutions.

GAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT

To succeed in its mission, corrections will have to cultivate public support assiduously, to explain its mission and its problems, to take its place among other public services and seek tax support on this basis. While the survey showed that the majority of the public would not want to see taxes raised to improve corrections, a substantial third of those interviewed were in fact willing to support tax increases for this purpose. In the West, four out of ten respondents would back such an increase. Support was greater among groups with higher income and more education. These groups offer a good starting point for efforts to secure a better public image for corrections.

In seeking a place among tax-supported services, correctional leaders must remember that those who pay the taxes are entitled to know how their money is spent. A good deal of the present lack of public interest and legislative support may well be ascribed to the failure of corrections to show how public funds have been invested and what the returns have been in men, women, and youngsters returned to the free community to lead useful lives. Typically, corrections comes to public notice only in times of crisis like a prison riot. This would not be the case if corrections maintained at least a speaking acquaintance with the public, as successful schools and hospitals have learned to do.

But public support must also come in forms other than appropriations. Corrections cannot achieve its potential unless citizens are willing to take responsibility for helping to further the reintegration of offenders into the community. By its preoccupation with the offender as a disturbed and misguided individual whose personality must be modified, corrections may have allowed society to ignore its responsibility to change conditions which cause crime to exist and criminals to continue criminal pursuits.

If Americans continue to look only at the offender and not at the environment which produces him, corrections will continue to have only limited success. A society that is truly determined to reduce crime must deal specifically with its causes. A society that

**This chapter was prepared by the Commission staff. See also the executive director's preface.*

wants to prevent recidivism must see to it that all its institutions are concerned with assisting the offender to enter, and stay within, the main currents of its political, economic and social life. And correctional leaders must assume responsibility for bringing these facts home to the public.

SPECIFIC STEPS TO BE TAKEN

The survey indicates several steps which corrections can take to begin its task of public education.

Tapping the Volunteer Potential

A bright spot in the survey findings was the revelation that at least 10 percent of the public would be interested in serving as volunteer workers in juvenile programs, helping to get jobs for ex-prisoners, working on citizen committees against organized crime, and the like, if asked. While this does not mean that millions of citizens could be induced to volunteer for jobs tomorrow, it does indicate that correctional administrators could increase the size of their pool of volunteer manpower and womanpower many times over. Skillful recruitment and management of volunteers calls for special effort and skills, but the gains can be well worth the effort.

Not the least of these gains will be the opening of new avenues to public interest and support. Through his contacts with correctional staff and with offenders, the volunteer gains understanding of problems and ways to solve them. One enthusiastic volunteer is worth three professionals as a missionary for a public service.

Perhaps the most important gains from the use of volunteers come from their experience and relationships outside the correctional setting. Focused on the problems of offenders, the volunteer's experience has added new dimensions to correctional programs. His fellow citizens, who are the employers and other key figures in the community, tend to respond better to the volunteer than to the professional in corrections.

To tap this potential, the correctional administrator must develop means of recruiting volunteers through personal contact. Recent studies indicate that volunteers are most likely to give their service if asked personally or approached by someone they know. Advertisement campaigns are virtually useless. After recruitment, the volunteer needs orientation and in-service training coupled with a carefully planned program which will utilize his talents effectively.

Developing Manpower Resources

Although the survey revealed ambivalence in public attitudes about corrections, it does suggest a number of resources which corrections has ignored or has not utilized to the full. One of these resources is manpower which can be recruited and trained so that corrections may live up to its potential.

Prominent among the differences of opinion between groups, as revealed by the interviews, is the gap between the responses of Negro and white citizens. Negroes appear to be more punitive in their attitude toward certain types of offenders, less optimistic about the prospects for rehabilitating them. Probably this negativism stems from reality, for Negroes are more likely than whites to be victims of crime and their rate of arrest is higher. Yet Negroes in this survey showed supportive attitudes toward correctional efforts which would indicate that they form a manpower resource for employment in corrections and for volunteer work in this field that has long been underutilized.

The survey also indicates that many women support correctional programs. Historically, women have taken the initiative in the reform of corrections. Yet a very small proportion of all correctional employees are women. With corrections moving away from the maximum-security prison to smaller institutions and community-based programs, more women could well be employed. Moreover, women have special contributions to make to the treatment of offenders. They constitute a resource that should not be ignored.

Tapping these new sources of manpower and better exploiting the traditional sources will not be easy for corrections. In the competition for manpower which marks both public and private sectors today, corrections has some strikes against it. The general public — particularly the young people — sees it as a non-success field. To compete for scarce manpower, corrections will have to accentuate the positive by emphasizing its successes rather than the failures which have caught public attention. As a practical matter, corrections must systematically inform parents, teachers, guidance counselors, and others who influence the career decisions of young people. Haphazard appearances at high school "career days" and college recruiting halls will not be good enough.

Social studies courses at the secondary school level should include content on crime and corrections. Local correctional leaders must reach out to institutions of education at secondary and higher levels to insure that young persons know about this public service. Corrections and education are worlds apart in most communities, knowing little about each other and missing opportunities to bridge the knowledge gap or to cooperate in improving programs. The younger generation is characterized as socially minded. It can be made responsive to the needs of the correctional field if a well-planned, systematic recruitment program is developed by correctional administrators at the local level.

THE ROAD AHEAD IN CORRECTIONS

This survey has shown that the road to more effective corrections may prove to be hard going. The public is well-intentioned as regards many offenders, but it shows alarm at modern methods of handling them, particularly when these methods bring them into contact with law-abiding citizens. This attitude is only partially offset by the fact that many people are willing to work personally with juvenile offenders.

It seems clear that two things will have to happen before the American people give real support to corrections. First, they must realize that almost every lawbreaker eventually returns to freedom; there are very few executions or life sentences today. Since this is the case, something must be done while offenders are in correctional status to make it likely that they will be useful citizens upon release.

Second, the public must learn that corrections can and does succeed in rehabilitating many offenders if the personnel and the funds are available to apply modern correctional methods and develop new ones and if the community is willing to help offenders in their readjustment to freedom.

These are two very big "if's." Yet experience with changing public attitudes in other areas shows that they can be realized. Consider, for example, the evolution of community attitudes toward mental illness. As soon as the public came to realize that it was not necessary to confine the mentally ill for life in isolated institutions, that many of them could be treated there or even in their own community so that they could return to normal living, citizen support was created for modern treatment, even and especially in the community.

Similar progress can be made in corrections. As pointed out earlier, it requires imaginative and sustained efforts by correctional leadership and by interested citizen groups to inform the public about the possibilities of rehabilitating offenders. With more understanding, this survey indicates, will come the public support that is necessary for progress.

APPENDIX

I. Sampling Design

This survey was a national sample survey of the civilian, non-institutional population of the United States. (Alaska and Hawaii, however, are not represented in the sample). Interviews were conducted with randomly designated respondents in 100 different locations throughout the country.

The national sample was based on intercensal estimates of the population of each state in the country, and of the population resident in standard metropolitan areas and in the rest of the country. These population estimates are produced annually by the Bureau of the Census.

The national sample was stratified in two dimensions — geographic region and metropolitan (and non-metropolitan) residence. Stratification insures that the sample will reflect, within 1 percent, the national proportions of the constituent strata.

Within each stratum the selection of the ultimate sampling unit (a cluster of adjacent households) was achieved in a series of steps, technically called multi-stage cluster sampling. First states, then counties, and then minor civil divisions (cities, towns, townships) were selected with probability proportional to census estimates of their respective household populations. Maps of the selected civil divisions were obtained and partitioned into segments containing approximately the same number of households. This was generally done in our office in New York, but for the smaller civil divisions, segmenting was generally performed in the field.

Interviewers contacted 10 households within the selected segment. At each household a single respondent was chosen by means of a random selection pattern, geared to the number of adults of each sex who live in the household who were at home at the time of contact. Where possible, teenagers (age 16-20) were interviewed in households where an adult had been interviewed. If the quota of 10 adults was completed before 2 teenagers had been interviewed, additional households in the segment were contacted until the quota of 2 teenagers was filled.

II. Definition and Size of Analytic Groups — Throughout the analysis the results are presented in terms of the following demographic breakdowns.

Total Adults (986) (#1-22 refer only to the adults)

1. Men (480)
2. Women (506)
3. Age - under 35 (273) Respondents 21-35
4. Age - 35-49 (333)
5. Age - 50 and over (380)
6. Income under $5,000 (281) — Total 1966 family income before taxes
7. Income $5,000-9,999 (455) — Total 1966 family income before taxes
8. Income $10,000 plus (223) — Total 1966 family income before taxes
9. Education - 8th grade or less (212) — Respondent finished 8th grade or less
10. Education - high school (539) — Respondent finished or at least attended high school
11. Education - college (227) — Respondent finished or at least attended college
12. Adult with teenager (62) — Adult interviewed in same household as teenager was interviewed
13. East (270) — All respondents from Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia
14. Midwest (277) — All respondents in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin
15. South (271) — All respondents from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia
16. West (168) — All respondents from Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming
17. Metro (297) — All respondents in central cities greater than 50,000 in population
18. Suburban (226) — All respondents in the urban fringe outside central cities
19. Town (214) — All respondents in urban areas from 1 - 50,000 in population
20. Rural (248) — All respondents in non-urban areas with population less than 1,000
21. Negro (111)
22. White (860)

Teenagers (198)

1. Male (142)
2. Female (56)
3. In high school (112) — Respondent in high school
4. In college (28) — Respondent in college
5. Not in school (53) — Respondent not in school
6. Head of household of teenager — attended high school or less (144)
7. Head of household of teenager — attended college (44)
8. Age under 18 — (112)
9. Age 18-20 — (86)

Note: In some cases the sum of the sub-groups do not equal the total sample because some respondents did not answer certain questions or gave answers that were not included in the sub-group definition.

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